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ABSTRACT

A sample of 264 high school seniors from a rural environment was used to test some of Everett Lee's theoretic statements on migration, specifically the separate and combined effects of involvement in the institutional structure of place of origin and perception of it as satisfying. To evaluate the relationship of institutional embeddedness to migration, variables of kin system, community, school, and religious institutions were used; perceptual variables were measures of community and rural residence satisfaction. Asked to judge where they would be living one year and five years hence, 135 students indicated they expected to be county residents five years later; 65 anticipated they would not. Intervening categories were excluded from analysis. Results showed proportion of one's kin group available as the most crucial factor influencing youth outmigration, with membership and participation in religion, school, and community consistent with the kin pattern, but not as strong. Both residential satisfaction and rural residence preference were shown to influence migration. It was found that migration would be most likely to occur among the least embedded in social institutions and least satisfied, and least likely to occur among the most embedded and most satisfied. Conclusions apart from testing the migration theory were also given in regard to youthful migration from rural areas. (RS)

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PERCEPTUAL AND STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF YOUTHFUL OUTMIGRATION

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The complexity of the migration process has resulted in the slow development of a supporting theory. One of the most used models of migration is an economic one which argues that migration operates for a large system to balance labor force distribution and in response to other economic conditions, or that migration by individuals is undertaken to maximize economic opportunities and economic returns (McInnis, 1971; Lee, 1957; Kuznets, 1960; Eldridge, 1964; Caldwell, 1970). The economic model has been extremely useful in estimating and predicting movement of populations with aggregate data. Attempts to predict individual movements are more complex, requiring knowledge of individual social characteristics, motives and individual perspectives through which economic and social conditions are screened and evaluated (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1970). In addition, it may be that in affluent societies, economic factors are of lesser importance than social and motivational factors (Shaw, 111).

The Problem

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A theory encompassing the range of migration-related variables does not exist, and some suggest that it is not reasonable to expect formal theory of this nature at this time (Price, Mangalam and Schwarzweller). However, the first step toward a general theory has been made by Everett Lee (1966) who laid out a broad framework for theory-building and provi-

ded germinal concepts with a potential for productive development.

Migration, accerding to Lee, is affected by sets of factors, some associated with the place of origin, some with the place of destination, and some factors which intervene between the first two sets (such as distance and legal restrictions to movement). The various factors associated with places of origin and destination operate, in complexity, both to attract or repel persons and to hold or expell them. Also, the simple summing of these positive and negative effects to predict migration is unproductive because of the effects of "personal factors" by which all the other factors are seen and considered. "It is not so much the actual factors of origin and destination as the perception of these factors which result in migration." (Lee, 50-1). From these, an hypothesis can be generated which states that factors associated with place of origin (or destination) will interact with individual perceptions to affect migration. An analysis of all the possible factors of origin (or destination) and their interaction with all possible individual perceptions is a monumental task which will not be attempted here. Instead, the present research will test the separate and combined effects on migration of involvement in the institutional structure of the place of origin, and the perception of the place of origin as satisfying or preferred.

The Variables

Sociology of the family literature uses a term, "institutional embeddedness" to refer to the manner in which kin groups may simultaneously occupy other institutional systems (political system, religious system, etc.) to their mutual support through shared values and norms (Adams). Here, it is proposed that one of the "factors" of a place of origin which

will affect migration is the degree of institutional embeddedness experienced by an individual, and that the more embedded one is in the institutional structure, the less likely he may be to migrate. Institutional embeddedness creates the "natural inertia" (Lee, 50) which must be overcome for migration to occur. In this study, the institutions which are expected to operate as a web of constraint on individuals are: the kin system, both immediate kin (grandparents and siblings) and collateral kin (aunts, uncles, and cousins); the community, the school, and religious institutions. For each of these, it is argued that the more deeply involved is the individual, the less likely that person is to become a migrant. However, Lee's theory raises an alternative possibility which must be stated at the outset. He states that if all migrants' characteristics (such as occupational class and education) were plotted on a scale from poor to excellent, the result would be a bimodal distribution, a J- or a U-curve (Lee, 56). Because participation variables (which are at a base of community, school and religious embeddedness) are correlated with SES characteristics, a curvelineal relationship, rather than a lineal one, may best exemplify the relation between these types of institutional involvement and migration.

Only two perceptual variables were selected for analysis: one, a measure of community satisfaction (Schulze, et.al.) was used because of its eclectic nature. It encompasses satisfaction with the spatial community and the social environment of the community. The second perceptual variable is rural residence satisfaction, which was modelled after Martin's (1953) Rural-Urban Residential Preference scale. The scale was originally devised to assess satisfaction with rural-urban fringe residence, but has been adjusted to apply to rural residence. (See the next section

for explication of the reason for a "rural" measure.) Both perceptions were expected to be negatively associated with migration. The perceptual variables were trichotomized and, in order to symplify the analysis, only the high and low extremes were used.

A third analysis tests the combined effects of institutional structure and perceptual variables on the prediction of migration. The measurement of migration was an estimate of intent to migrate. Persons were asked to judge where they would be living one year hence and five years hence. Expected residence outside the county of present residence was the basis for determining migration. The use of anticipated residence as a measure has several advantages. First, in a study which attempts to test relationships between perceptions and migration, it is most reasonable to examine the two variables in the same time period, rather than to determine perceptions in time A and assume these perceptions operate from time A to time B, without change, to affect migration. Second, this approach is less expensive than a panel design which would require a follow-up survey. The two-fold criterion presents "permanent residents" who would be in the county one year and five years later (N=135); temporary migrants who saw themselves outside the county in one year but back five years later (N=9). (Temporary migrants resembled permanent residents in most of the characteristics studied.) Delayed migrants were those who anticipated being in the county in one year, but not in five years (N=50), and they showed characteristics intermediate between the first two groups and the last one. The final class included those who would be away from the county in one year and in five years (N=65). Because the theory can be best tested by studying those who plan either to move or not to move, temporary and delayed migration have been excluded from this analysis.

The Survey

Given the generalizations that migration occurs in connection with achievement of stages in the life cycle (Lee, 57) and that young adults have a high propensity to migrate (Shaw, 18, 19), this study tests the perception and structure hypotheses among high school seniors. Further, these students reside in a rural environment: a county with sixty per cent of the population classified as rural, with no large cities, and with the nearest metropolitan center more than 150 miles away. Intention to migrate, thus, focuses on movement out of a rural environment. Seniors from three high schools, a town, a village and one in open country, were selected. Locale of the school showed no systematic relationship to study variables, and therefore, all students were combined for the analysis, the total sample comprising 264 students.

The Analysis: Structural factors and migration

If one becomes involved-in social systems at a place of origin, that involvement or institutional embeddedness may operate to keep that person from leaving, from becoming a migrant. No attempt is made here to assess emotional committment to these institutions. Here, institutional involvement refers simply to being part of a structure through membership or participation. A slightly different task is necessary to describe involvement in the kin system, because membership is not a voluntary ption. A kin system is seen as more or less available to an individual either by being concentrated nearby or by being dispersed. A concentrated kin network can provide frequent, regular, formal and informal contacts with members and through this kin embeddedness can come social support, which would in turn retard migration.

Before continuing, a question must be raised as to whether it is the concentration of a kin system around an individual that affects migration potential or whether it is simply the size of the family system that keeps persons from becoming migrants. Tests of the relationship of absolute size of the kin system and migration were made with the data at hand. Absolute size appears not to be an important factor. Whether comparing size of the residential nuclear unit or size of the total kin group, differences between migrant and permanent resident are slight. Nuclear families of permanent residents numbered 5.6 ($\bar{X}$), and those of committed migrants 5.3 ($\bar{X}$), and the total kin group of permanent residents numbered 57 ($\bar{X}$), and for committed migrants, 50 ($\bar{X}$). Though the differences are in the expected direction, i.e., permanent residents have larger families of absolute size, the differences are not statistically significant. If, however, one considers only the size of the total kin group in the county (a condition related to the concept of embeddedness in the kin structure as used in this study), the differences are striking. Permanent residents identify a concentrated kin group of 37 while that of the committed migrant numbers only 16.

Looking at different components of the kin system reveals a similar pattern between intentions to remain in an area (or migrate) and proportion of one's kin folk located nearby. The larger proportion, each, of one's grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles and cousins, the larger are the proportions of youth intending to remain in the area. (Table 1). In observing the reverse pattern among intended migrants, it is worth comment that having kin outside the county means that the youth will have a source of information regarding areas outside the county (possible destinations) and a portion of their kin group to support a move in that direction.

[APPROPRIATE PLACE FOR TABLE 1]

The distinction between immediate kin and collateral kin was intended to distinguish the effect of structurally close kin. Though the reverse was expected, the proportions seem to indicate that the collateral kin are more important: 80% and 83% of the permanent residents have over half of their collateral kin in the county while they have only 78% and 70% of the immediate kin around them. But the overall results are to show that the greater proportion of one's kin in the county (the larger the available kin structure) the less likely is one to leave that county.

Embeddedness in other institutions, by and large, follows the hypothesized pattern with relation to migration. Persons who are more active in community organizations and school organizations (both by virtue of being in two or more organizations or holding two or more offices) are more likely to express intentions not to migrate. Similarly, with regard to religious membership and level of religious attendance, those most embedded are least likely to leave the area. The relation does not hold for membership vs. non-membership in school or community organizations. Following Lee's comment regarding bimodel distribution of social variables, it may be that the same social factors that keep youth from joining such organizations also keep them from migrating. This raises the question as to whether institutional embeddedness requires an initial committment to the social structure in order to be related to migration.

The patterns of community, school and religion were not statistically significant in relation to migration while those of kin structure were. A generalization evolves from this to the effect that for youth, there is a hierarchy of structures to affect migration: the kin system being the most important, the religious system, school system and community system less important.

Perceptual factors and migration

The perceptions or judgements that individuals hold of an event, an act of another, or one's social or physical environment are not identical. These perceptions, which from person to person are variables, are able to influence behavior. Perception of the physical environment, appreciation of it and preference for it are expected to discourage persons from migrating. The measure of residential satisfaction has already been shown to relate negatively to migration (Schultz, et.al.). The present study found the same relationship: a larger proportion of permanent residents express high satisfaction while a larger proportion of committed migrants reported low satisfaction (Table 2). The pattern with

[APPROPRIATE PLACE FOR TABLE 2]

this measure of general satisfaction with one's residence is repeated with the more specific rural residence preference, but the second relationship is even stronger (Table 2). Having demonstrated that these particular perceptual variables operate to affect migration, the next step requires an examination of any mutual relationship between the two independent variables: is there interaction between structural factors and perceptual factors?

Structural factors and perceptual factors

Both high residential satisfaction and high rural residential preference are associated positively with proportions of kin in the county and with each measure of institutional embeddedness (with the exception of community membership and school participation, the latter for rural residence preference only). (See table 3). In a subsidiary analysis, which controlled first for residential satisfaction and second for rural

residence preference, committed migrants with low satisfaction or low preference were proportionately larger than committed migrants with high responses, for twenty of the twenty-two structural items.

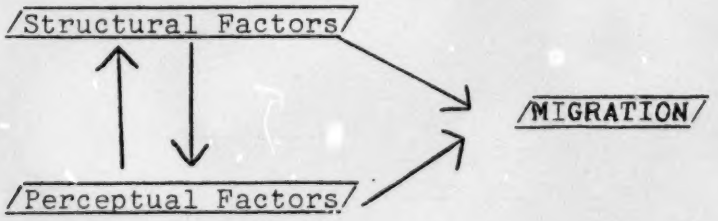
[APPROPRIATE PLACE FOR TABLE 3]

The direction of this interaction, that is, whether activity in the structure produces the satisfaction and preference or the satisfaction and preference lead to more involvement, can not be ascertained from the data in this study. However, the relationship supports the theoretic model which argues against bivariate analysis of the migration process. Resolving the interactions in a regression formula is not advisable because of the qualitative nature of the variables, most of which are not above an ordinal level of measurement.

Combining structure, perception and migration

The final step in this analysis is to attempt to integrate the two independent variables to observe their combined effects on migration. The findings to this point indicate relationships which evolve into the schematic model indicated in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: Model of Structural and Perceptual Factors Relating to Migration



A determining relationship may originate with either of the independent variables. Lee's theory suggests that the "factors at origin" should not be thought of as simply additive or accumulative in their effects on migration, but rather affected by the sets of personal perceptions. Reformulating his proposition in light of this research produces the alternative that perceptual factors do not operate as something different from "factors at origin" but can be built into an additive model to account for migration. Under this restatement and using the data from this study, migration would be most likely to occur among the least embedded in social institutions and least satisfied and least likely to occur among the most embedded and most satisfied. To test this, migration intention was assigned a value of 2, intention to remain was assigned a value of 1, and the mean migration score was calculated for the extremes of the structural and perceptual categories. For example, the least embedded-least satisfied would be one with no kin in the county who expressed low satisfaction and the other extreme would have more than half of one's kin in the county and expressed high satisfaction. The data from this analysis is in Table 4. Though actual means were not included in Table 4, the negative relation between structural embeddedness (and residential satisfaction or rural residence preference) and intention to migrate held in every case. The fact that the differences in means become greater when perceptual factors are added to structural ones is used to indicate the correctness of an additive model which combines perceptual and structural factors. From this treatment of the data, differences in migration rates

[APPROPRIATE PLACE FOR TABLE 4]

are, on the whole, largest for both perceptual variables in combination with the kin structure. Also, the more specific perceptual factor---rural residence preference---produces higher differences of the means than the more general perceptual factor---residence satisfaction.

Conclusion

This study attempted to test some of Lee's theoretic statements on a segment of population most prone to experience migration---youth. The study examined one dimension of the broad category referred to as "factors at place of origin". This dimension was presented as involvement in the structure of the various institutional systems. The proportion of one's kin group available was shown to be the most crucial factor influencing youth in their migration intentions. The patterns with regard to membership and participation in religion, school and community were consistent with the kin pattern, but not as strong. The concept, institutional embeddedness, has proved useful in isolating part of the constraining elements in the migration process.

Residential satisfaction and rural residence preference were shown to influence the migration process directly and indirectly through their interaction with structural variables. The resulting model of migration affords a conceptualization of the relation of these two factors to migration. The testing of this additive model indicates the utility in combining social and attitudinal-type variables toward a fuller resolution of the phenomenon of migration.

Although the primary intent of the paper was to test of migration theory, there are conclusions which can be drawn in regard to youthful migration from rural areas. First, youth participation in local institutions bears a systematic, though weak, relationship to the intention to

remain in the area. This may mean that non-migrating youth are undergoing an unplanned apprenticeship which will prepare them for active adult involvement in rural social systems. Second, among these institutions, it is membership in a religious institution which evidences the strongest relationship with intention not to migrate. An interpretation of this could be that the religious connection is a more affectual tie than those of school or community and as such, resemble the kin tie. Third, the kin tie emerges as the best determinant of youth migration, and of all the types of kin studied, the proportion of aunts and uncles outside the county explains more of the intentions to migrate than proportions of grandparents, siblings or cousins. This type of kin may offer maturity and established life patterns which provide the most confidence to the intended migrants.

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TABLE 1: STRUCTURAL FACTORS
BY RESIDENCE ORIENTATION

STRUCTURAL FACTORS	RESIDENCE ORIENTATION		
	Permanent Resident %	Committed Resident %	TOTAL % N
I. Kin Network			
A. Immediate Kin			
.Proportion of.			
1. Grandparents in the country---*			
None	45	55	100 (47)
1/2 or less	67	33	100 (18)
More than 1/2	78	22	100 (117)
2. Siblings in the country			
None	50	50	100 (6)
1/2 or less	50	50	100 (18)
More than 1/2	70	30	100 (171)
B. Collateral Kin			
.Proportion of.			
1. Aunts and uncles in the country---*			
None	42	58	100 (38)
1/2 or less	63	37	100 (75)
More than 1/2	83	17	100 (83)
2. Cousins in the country---*			
None	42	58	100 (40)
1/2 or less	63	37	100 (57)
More than 1/2	80	20	100 (98)
II. Other Institutional Networks			
A. Community			
1. Membership in Organization			
No	69	31	100 (156)
Yes	62	38	100 (45)
2. Number of memberships			
One	59	41	100 (27)
Two or more	60	40	100 (15)
B. School			
1. Member of an Organization			
No	72	28	100 (46)
Yes	67	33	100 (150)
2. Number of Memberships			
One	62	38	100 (37)
Two or more	68	32	100 (113)
3. Offices held			
One	66	34	100 (32)
Two or more	68	32	100 (34)
C. Religion			
1. Membership			
No	52	48	100 (22)
Yes	69	31	100 (180)
2. Attendance			
Less than 3 times/mo.	65	35	100 (52)
3 times/mo. +	69	31	100 (112)

*x^2 = significant at .05 level

TABLE 2. Perceptual factors: residential satisfaction and rural residence preference by residence orientation: permanent residence and committed migrant.

Residence Orientation	Perceptual Factors	
	Residence Satisfaction	
	Low (%)	High (%)
Permanent Resident	63	74
Committed Migrant	37	26
	100 (N=60)	100 (N=66)
	Rural Residence Preference*	
Permanent Resident	56	77
Committed Migrant	44	23
	100 (N=52)	100 (N=77)

* x^2: significant at .05 level

TABLE 3: RLEATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STRUCTURAL FACTORS AND PERCEPTUAL FACTORS

STRUCTURAL FACTORS	PERCEPTUAL FACTORS					
	Residential Satisfaction			Rural Residence Preference		
	Low	High	Total	Low	High	Total
	%	%	% N	%	%	% N
I. Kin Structure						
A. Immediate Kin						
1. Proportion of Grandparents						
None	58	42	100 (43)*	44	56	100 (45
1/2 or less	25	75	100 (20)	53	47	100 (19)
More than 1/2	47	53	100 (90)	37	63	100 (92)
2. Proportion of Siblings						
None	100	--	100 (5)*	67	33	100 (6)*
1/2 or less	55	45	100 (20)	63	37	100 (16)
More than 1/2	43	57	100 (136)	36	67	100 (140)
B. Correlateral Kin						
1. Proportion of Aunts and Uncles						
None	56	44	100 (34)	47	53	100 (38)
1/2 or less	44	56	100 (63)	42	58	100 (59)
More than 1/2	42	58	100 (66)	34	66	100 (67)
2. Proportion of Cousins						
None	58	41	100 (36)	46	54	100 (41)
1/2 or less	44	55	100 (43)	35	65	100 (43)
More than 1/2	41	59	100 (81)	38	62	100 (78)
II. Other Institutional Factors						
A. Community						
1. Membership						
No	47	53	100 (137)	41	59	100 (127)
Yes	47	53	100 (30)	41	59	100 (41)
2. Number of Community memberships						
One	52	48	100 (21)	46	54	100 (26)
Two or more	37	63	100 (8)	38	62	100 (13)
B. School						
1. Member of an Organization						
No	57	43	100 (42)	46	54	100 (39)
Yes	45	55	100 (121)	40	60	100 (128)
2. Number of Memberships						
One	60	40	100 (30)	32	68	100 (34)
Two or more	40	60	100 (91)	43	57	100 (94)
3. Offices held						
One	46	54	100 (28)	50	50	100 (28)
Two or more	30			32	68	100 (22)
C. Religion						
1. Membership						
No	71	29	100 (28)	67	33	100 (21)*
Yes	42	58	100 (139)	37	63	100 (146)
2. Attendance						
Less than 3 times per mo.	40	60	100 (45)	38	62	100 (47)
Three times/mo. +	43	57	100 (78)	32	67	100 (81)

* = x^2 significant at .05 level

TABLE 4: Differences in Migration Means for Structural Factors and Structural Factors in Combination with Perceptual Factors

STRUCTURAL FACTORS	MIGRATION MEANS[1] for Structural Factors[2]	for Structural Factors Combined with Residence Satisfaction[3]	for Structural Factors Combined with Rural Residence Preference[4]
I. Kin Network			
A. Immediate Kin			
1. Grandparents	.331*	.275*	.380*
2. Sibling	.202	.276	.511
B. Collateral Kin			
1. Aunts and Uncles	.410*	.319*	.497*
2. Cousins	.371*	.295*	.469*
II. Other Institutional Networks			
A. Community			
1. Membership	.070	.186	.116
2. Number of Memberships	.029	.333	.071
B. School			
1. Membership	.050	.053	.290*
2. Number of Memberships	.059	.147	.258*
3. Offices Held	.020	.154	.218
C. Religion			
1. Membership	.170	.216	.370*
2. Attendance	.033	.029	.250*

1. With intention to migrate assigned a value of 2, the means will lie between 1 and 2.

2. Differences calculated by subtracting the $\bar{X}$ migration scores of the most deeply embedded in the structure from those least deeply embedded.

3. Differences calculated by subtracting the $\bar{X}$ migration scores of those most deeply embedded who also express high residential satisfaction from the $\bar{X}$ migration scores of those least deeply embedded who express low residential satisfaction.

4. Differences calculated as in (3) above, but for rural residence preference rather than residence satisfaction.

* = x^2 significant at .05 level.